

eastern Idaho's agriculture community.

Don's generosity and good-natured approach to life and work is also reflected in his induction into the Eastern Idaho Agriculture Hall of Fame. He is a valued counselor and friend of my entire family. I salute him on the accomplishment of this high honor. I know you and my colleagues in the Senate join me in offering our congratulations to Don Dixon.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BUNNING). The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues who were able to work out time back and forth on various issues.

NOMINATIONS OF MARSHA BERZON AND RICHARD PAEZ

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I had the privilege to address the Senate for about 15 minutes on the quality of two wonderful Ninth Circuit court nominees who are coming up for cloture votes today at 5 o'clock. I am very hopeful we can, in fact, shut off debate on this and get to the votes themselves tomorrow.

These are two excellent people, wonderful human beings, wonderful family members. Their families and they have gone through a difficult time because they have been kind of twisting in the wind—for 2 years, in Marsha's case; in Richard's case, for 4 years—while awaiting this moment. I hope if they are watching today, they feel as optimistic as do I that hopefully it is going to have a happy ending.

CEDAW

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, today is International Women's Day. To all you women out there, and men who care about women, happy International Women's Day.

I think it is very fitting on International Women's Day to discuss a treaty this Senate should ratify, but has not ratified in over 20 years. This treaty, signed by President Carter, almost made it to the Senate floor some 6 years ago when it was voted favorably out of the Foreign Relations Committee. Unfortunately, it was never brought up. The treaty is called CEDAW. It stands for the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

This is a treaty that has been nicknamed the Magna Carta for women because it essentially gives basic human rights to women all over the world. That is why 165 nations, all of our allies and friends in the world, have in fact ratified it. But we haven't ratified it. One might say, well, who hasn't ratified it? I am sorry to say, we are standing with such stalwarts of democracy as Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and

Somalia. We don't belong in that company. This country is, in fact, a leader of human rights. It is really an embarrassment that we have not brought that treaty to the Senate floor.

I wrote a resolution that calls on the Senate to ask the Foreign Relations Committee to hold a hearing on CEDAW. It now has 25 cosponsors, including Republicans. It is very simple. It expresses the sense of the Senate that the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations—that is a committee on which I serve—should hold hearings, and the Senate should act on CEDAW, should take action on this convention to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. The resolution goes through why this treaty is so important. It talks about how important it is that CEDAW be enacted: because it would help give women equal rights, equal opportunity, equal education; it would help them get protection against violence. We know that happens all over the world where women don't have equal rights. And it would give us the clout, if you will, the portfolio to be stronger as a world leader.

The bottom line of this is that today I asked the Democratic leadership to ask unanimous consent to bring this resolution that I wrote to the floor. The resolution doesn't say ratify this convention. It simply says to the Foreign Relations Committee, please hold hearings.

It was objected to by the other side of the aisle because they don't want to have this hearing. I will discuss that because it is with great respect that I bring up these differences between the two sides of the aisle. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, with whom I have a wonderful relationship, a very good working relationship, took to the floor of the Senate today. He unequivocally stated—and when he wants to be unequivocal, he can—that he will not hold hearings on the Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. And he explained why. I totally respect his right to have this view, but I will paraphrase the reasons he gave as to why he doesn't want to hold hearings on this. I will offer another view.

First, he said he wasn't going to hold hearings because there are radical groups behind this treaty.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a list of the organizations that have endorsed the women's convention.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ENDORSED THE WOMEN'S CONVENTION (PARTIAL LIST)

Action for Development
*American Association of Retired Persons
*American Association of University Women
*American Bar Association
American College of Nurse-Midwives

American Council for the United Nations University

American Federation of Teachers

*American Friends Service Committee

*American Jewish Committee

*American Nurses Association

American Veterans Committee

Americans for Democratic Action, Inc.

*Amnesty International USA

Association for Women in Development

Association for Women in Psychology

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

*Bahá'is of the United States

Black Women's Agenda

*B'nai B'rith International

Bread for the World

*Business and Professional Women/USA

BVM Network for Women's Issues

Catholics for A Free Choice

Center for Advancement of Public Policy

Center for Policy Alternatives

Center for Reproductive Law and Policy

Center for Women's Global Leadership

Center of Concern

Chicago Catholic Women

Church of the Brethren, Washington Office

*Church Women United

Coalition on Religion & Ecology

Coalition for Women in International Development

Columban Fathers' Justice & Peace Office

Commission on the Advancement of Women/InterAction

D.C. Statehood Solidarity Committee

Earthcommunity Center

Eighth Day Center for Justice

Episcopal Church

*Evangelical Lutheran Church of America

*Feminist Majority Foundation

Francois Xavier Bagnoud Center for Health and Human Rights

Friends of the U.N.

*Friends Committee on National Legislation

*General Federation of Women's Clubs

Global Commission to Fund the UN

Gray Panthers

Guatemala Human Rights Commission

Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America

Health & Development Policy Project

Human Rights Advocates

Human Rights Watch/Women's Rights Division

The Humane Society

International Center for Research on Women International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission

International Human Rights Law Group

International Women's Health Coalition

International Women's Human Rights Law Clinic

International Women Judges Foundation

The J. Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

Jewish Council for Public Affairs

*Jewish Women International

Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights

*Leadership Conference of Women Religious

*League of Women Voters of the United States

Louisville Women-Church

Maryknoll Mission Association of the Faithful

Maryknoll Office of Global Concerns

Massachusetts Women-Church

Na'amat USA

*National Association of Commissions for Women

National Association of Social Workers

National Association of Women Lawyers

National Audubon Society

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence

National Coalition of American Nuns
 *National Council of Negro Women
 National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA
 National Council of Women of the USA
 *National Council of Women's Organizations
 *National Education Association
 National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
 National Women's Conference Committee
 *NOW Legal Defense & Education Fund
 NETWORK—A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
 Older Women's League
 Oxfam America
 Planned Parenthood Federation of America
 *Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Washington Office
 Psychologists for Social Responsibility
 Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights
 San Francisco Bay Area Women's Ordination Conference
 *Sierra Club
 Sisterhood is Global Institute
 Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace
 Soka Gakkai International—USA
 Society for International Development/Women in Development
 *Soroptimist International of the Americas
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations
 *Unitarian Universalist Association, Washington Office
 Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
 United Church of Christ Office for Church and Society
 *United Methodist Church
 *United Nations Association of the United States of America
 United States Committee for UNICEF
 United States Committee for UNIFEM
 Washington Office on Africa
 Winrock International
 Woman's National Democratic Club
 Women Empowering Women of Indian Nations (WEWIN)
 Women of Reform Judaism
 Women for International Peace and Arbitration
 Women for Meaningful Summits
 Women Law and Development International
 *Women's Action for New Directions/Women Legislators Lobby
 Women's Environment and Development Organization
 Women's Institute for Freedom of The Press
 *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
 Women's Legal Defense Fund
 Women's Ordination Conference
 World Citizen Foundation
 *World Federalist Association
 *YWCA of the U.S.A.

*Active National Membership Organizations.

Mrs. BOXER. With the Chair's indulgence, I will read to the Senate just a few of these organizations. I want the Senate to decide if these organizations are radical or in any way not in the mainstream of thought. These are just some of the organizations that say, yes, the United States should ratify this treaty to end all forms of discrimination against women: the American Association of Retired Persons; the American Association of University Women; the American Jewish Committee; Amnesty International USA; the Bahais of the United States; the Black Women's Agenda; the B'nai B'rith International; Business and Professional Women USA; Chicago Catho-

lic Women; Church of the Brethren, Washington Office; Church Women United; Episcopal Church; the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America; Hadassah; Human Rights Watch; The Humane Society; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights; Leadership Conference of Women Religious; National Association of Commission for Women; National Coalition Against Domestic Violence; the National Coalition of American Nuns; the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA; the National Council of Women's Organizations; the Presbyterian Church, Washington Office; the Soroptimist International of the Americas; the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; the Unitarian Universalist Association, Washington Office; the United Methodist Church; the Women's Legal Defense Fund; and the YWCA of the United States of America.

I don't mind debating an issue on its merits, its demerits, its flaws, its problems. But to come to the Senate floor and say the people behind this convention to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women are radicals is simply not a fact in evidence, unless you think Hadassah is radical or the nuns are radical or all these churches and organizations are radical. They are far from radical. They are mainstream America. Mainstream America supports this, and we can't get a hearing because our chairman believes these groups are radical.

I understand some tactics have been used to get the chairman's attention to hold this hearing that he does not appreciate. And that is his right. But I beg my chairman to look past that and understand that these groups are in the mainstream of America. America should be in the leadership and out front on this issue. So the first point he made, I do not agree with, that radicals are behind this treaty.

Secondly, his other argument was that signing this international treaty would interfere with our sovereignty; in other words, it would interfere with us as lawmakers to do our job, would interfere with our laws. Nothing could be further from the truth. We have thousands of international treaties of which we are a part. They are all in this book. I won't put this in the RECORD because it would cost too much to print, but it is page after page with almost every civilized country. We have treaties with them on all kinds of things—on science, on military aid, on human rights.

I will give you a couple that we signed on human rights. We are a party to a number of human rights treaties. One in particular is the U.N. Convention Against Torture, and other cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment or punishment. We ratified that in 1990. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was ratified in 1992. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, ratified in 1994.

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So to say that these treaties will interfere with us just doesn't make any sense. Again, it is just not a fact in evidence.

The third reason my chairman says he doesn't want to hold a hearing is that he believes the whole purpose of this convention is to grant women the right to choose. In other words, in his opinion, this whole thing is about abortion rights. I want to say again how off the mark I think that suggestion is. When the committee voted this convention out for ratification 6 years ago, there was a big debate on this matter. What the committee did—by the way, I will support it overwhelmingly—it said this treaty and this convention is abortion neutral. It specifically said it "does not create or reflect an international right to abortion or sanction abortion as a means of family planning." It goes on, "We don't endorse it as a means of family planning," et cetera. The understanding states that "nothing in the convention reflects or creates a right to abortion" and that "in no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning."

So these issues that the chairman of the committee has raised, in my opinion, are straw men, or straw people, or straw women. They are not fact. The fact is, when we voted out this convention 6 years ago, we specifically stated it had nothing to do with abortion. The fact is that 165 nations have passed this, and we are standing with the most retrograde, rogue states in our opposition to it. There are thousands and thousands of treaties that do not interfere with our rights of sovereignty. The fact is that it has nothing to do with abortion. The most mainstream groups—and I have read some of them to you, and they are all that way—are behind this treaty and are working very hard to get it done.

Now, 21 years ago, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a treaty. Twenty years ago, President Carter signed the treaty. So it is really long overdue. I don't want to stand with Iran, Sudan, Somalia, and North Korea, as the rare nations who have not ratified this. I think it is a disgrace that we are not a party to this treaty. We know since 1981, when it entered into force, it has had a positive impact on the countries that have signed it. One such example is constitutional reform in Brazil, which brought significant guarantees of women's human rights, and CEDAW provides the framework for articulating these rights.

There are many other wonderful things that have happened worldwide as a result of this treaty. Other nations have copied word for word from the treaty the kinds of rights they are going to give women in their nations. We have an important book, "Bringing

Equality Home," which shows how many good things have happened because of that.

You might say, Senator BOXER, why does America have to act if these good things are happening? The fact is, we have to act because we should be proud that all of the things in this treaty we already do in our country. So we should be a leader, not a follower, on this. And we need that portfolio because when there is a case of a country that is not doing right by its women—and let me give you a case in point. There was a case in Kuwait where women were struggling to get the right to vote. It was a big brouhaha, and everybody thought, my goodness, we came to their assistance in the gulf war, they are going to follow suit and women will get the right to vote. Guess what happened. They did not. We were pressing them so hard, but I bet they turned to our negotiator and said, "Wait a minute, why should we listen to you, you aren't even a party to the CEDAW treaty." It takes away our ability to lead for equal rights for women because we have not yet ratified.

I am very hopeful that Senator HELMS will have a change of heart on this, although I believe he does hold strong views. But today I learned that Congressman Gilman, who is the Republican chair of the committee called the House International Relations Committee, has agreed to hold hearings on this treaty.

The fact is, it is our business, our work, our job. We are the ones who should be doing it. Although I am very pleased that the House is going to have the hearing—and I hope I can get over there and testify. But I think we should have our own hearings. After all, we have 25 Members of the Senate who were on this. I will read you the list of Senators who have gone on this, asking for hearings on this: Senators MURRAY, MIKULSKI, COLLINS, SNOWE, ROBB, WELLSTONE, BIDEN, LAUTENBERG, KENNEDY, SARBANES, CLELAND, Bob GRAHAM, Jack REED, LINCOLN, FEINSTEIN, LANDRIEU, FEINGOLD, DURBIN, DASCHLE, LEAHY, DODD, BINGAMAN, TORRICELLI, KERRY, and SPECTER.

We have many Republicans and many Democrats. I honestly think that if everyone knows about this resolution—and I will work hard on that—we will get some more. We now have a quarter of the Senate on record asking for hearings on CEDAW. My view is, since it was voted out favorably 6 years ago by the committee on a bipartisan vote of 13-5, we ought to do it again and get it moving and bring it down here for debate.

Women deserve equal rights, voting rights, human rights. They deserve to be protected from violence, either in their own homes or walking down the street. They should be protected against institutional violence. We have

seen things that go on in Africa with operations that are forced upon women. It is very important that for us to lead in the world, we must be a leader on this treaty.

Again, I say to my friends on the other side who oppose this, I respect your right to oppose it. But, my goodness, what about having a hearing on it so we can listen to both sides? I think women in this country are waking up to this fact. There are so many issues we deal with every day. The women in my State are dealing with making it home in time to greet their children coming home from school or who are in day care. Their husbands are also working and putting dinner on the table and planning all the things they plan for their families. They are balancing their lives with their jobs. Do you know what? They care about this.

I have had meetings with many women who care about this because we are on this Earth right now and we have to try to make it a better world. We can't stop every evil, that is for sure; we know that. But we can stand for equal rights and human rights for people all over the world. We can stand up and say in certain countries women are treated like second-class citizens and, in some cases, not even third-, fourth-, or fifth-class citizens; they are treated like property. They have no respect. I just believe this great Nation of ours has come a long way to have the equality we have. Sometimes I look at the young women here and I think: Do you really know what it was like before women had equality?

Do you know what it was like when I went to get a job on Wall Street after graduating from college and was told: Women don't work here? The most shocking thing about it was that I said OK. And I packed up my bag and left. I didn't even argue with them. It was a given. There were only certain jobs for women.

I had to study to pass my test as a stockbroker on my own without the benefit of anyone. Once I got my licensing back, I said: Now, can I please be a stockbroker, and bring commission to this brokerage house, by the way? Well, all right, but just do it quietly. We want to make it look like you are a secretary. Those were tough days. It wasn't that long ago. I know I am old, but I am not that old. We faced that kind of discrimination.

Women could not vote until 1920. People look around here and say: Why aren't there more women? Believe me. I say that every day. But the bottom line is we didn't get to vote until 1920. We weren't used to power—not even the power to vote until the 1920s. We are learning how to deal with it now. But it takes time. Why shouldn't the world learn from our experience? What we know to be a fact and evident is that women are equal. By the way, it doesn't mean we are better. We are

equal. We are equally good in some cases and equally bad in some cases—not better. But we know that and we respect that in this country, although I would still like to see the equal rights amendment be part of the Constitution. But basically we know that. We should take that knowledge and that commitment, and make sure the women of the world have a chance at life. I think we can do it through this treaty. I would think we would be proud to do it across the party line.

I think this is going to become an issue in this election because there is no reason why we shouldn't at least hold a hearing and debate these issues.

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee was down here today. He was eloquent in his opposition. Now I am on the floor and he is not here. I hope I have been a little eloquent on why we should pass the treaty. Why not bring that debate inside the Foreign Relations Committee where it belongs? Why not hear from Senators on both sides who care about this one way or the other? Why not vote it out? Why not come to the floor and have a good debate on these issues, and perhaps elevate the Senate? We get into our petty quarrels. Sometimes we take up issues that are, frankly, not as important as others. This one would be one that I think would make us all proud, wherever we come out on this matter and on this question. But in terms of the arguments against it, I hope I have put the other side out on the table.

Good people are behind this treaty—good, mainstream American groups. The treaty is a Magna Carta for women. We ought to be proud of it. We ought to stand with the countries in the world that are civilized, that give their women equal rights and fair rights. We ought to stand with them. It is time we do it.

It is International Women's Day. I will end where I started with happy International Women's Day. I hope when we think about this perhaps in the next few days and weeks and months, we will factor in a very important treaty—the Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women—on the floor of the Senate for a high-level debate and a vote.

Thank you very much Mr. President. I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.